



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

XI.—THE *PUY* AT ROUEN¹

The *puy*s were pious literary societies in the north of France from the thirteenth century till modern times. Most of them were in honor of the Virgin. The one at Dieppe was dedicated to her assumption, the one at Amiens to her purification, the one at Rouen to her immaculate conception. At first the *puy*s were more religious than literary. Later they became more literary than religious. Some became wholly secular literary academies. The *puy*s encouraged the art of poetry by crowning the victors in poetic contests held according to their rules. The contests were arranged and conducted by a president chosen for one year and called *prince* or less often *maistre*. The membership was drawn from the clergy, the officials, and the bourgeois. The *puy*s interest us on account of their acknowledged influence upon the German *meistersänger* and the French *rhétoriciens*, especially in the development of ballad poetry.

The name *puy* is in Old French *pui*, "a hill," and is found first in the *Chanson de Roland*. It derives quite regularly from Lat. *podium*, Gk. *πόδιον*, "base, height, balcony." Adam de la Halle, who died in 1286, is the first to use *puy* in the sense of a society holding literary contests. Writers disagree as to the reason for the change of meaning from "hill" to "literary society." The most common view is that the society took its name from the "podium" or platform on which the contest was held. I am inclined to the view, held by the French scholar

¹ To Professor Nitze and members of his staff at the University of Chicago I owe the heartiest thanks for valuable aid in the preparation of this paper.

Henry Guy, that *puy* as a literary court is derived from an old judicial custom of calling the accused to the summit of a hill, where they were heard and judged by their peers. Michelet (*Origines du droit français*, p. 303) says that the *rederikes* or poets of Picardy and Flanders held their assemblies on the *puy*s, hills. Jacob Grimm (*Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 800-802) gives ample evidence of the custom among the Franks of holding court on hill-tops. He cites in comparison the assemblies of the Kelts and Druids upon cliffs and hills for sacrifice and court, and of the Romance poets and singers upon the *puy*.

Early in the thirteenth century Folquet, the monk of Montaudon, became permanent president of a literary "court" at Le-Puy-Notre-Dame. He was permitted to give a sparrow as first prize for poems presented. A commission of four judges made the awards. Guirart de Calanson submitted his famous canzone on sensual love. Folquet retained his leadership till his death in 1221, when the court was disbanded. Suchier (I, p. 193) thinks that this society was a model for well-to-do citizens in northern France, who united to cultivate poetry and music and, later, the musical drama; that these societies were called *puy*s-Notre-Dame or *puy*s, after the southern model; and that they crowned poems on sensual love as well as on spiritual love. This theory seems doubtful. In the first place, the *puy*s seem older. The one at Arras had been organized about the close of the previous century. Secondly, the fact that the *puy*s were less active in literary matters and confined themselves almost wholly to sacred subjects and only later developed into secular academies points, in my opinion, to a religious motive for their foundation. Churchmen took an interest in the activity of the *puy*s as a means for proselyting and promulgating the

pious doctrines of the church, especially the dogma of the immaculate conception.

It seems well established that the puys were a development of brotherhoods organized in northern France in connection with the festivals of the Virgin and of the passion of Christ. These fraternities wrought works of piety and sought to promulgate the dogmas taught by illustrious churchmen, particularly that of the immaculate conception. This doctrine originated in the Orient, whence it reached Italy. At an early date it had been brought to some of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries of England. Thence it was introduced into Normandy. From its popularity there, the festival of the conception was called *la fête aux Normands*.

Miraculum de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae is the title of a little work attributed to St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1109. This composition, dating from the beginning of the twelfth century, relates that William the Conqueror, after the conquest of England, fearing the intervention of the king of Denmark, sent to treat with him Helsin, the abbot of Ramsay, a former councilor of king Harold, in whom he had the greatest confidence in spite of his origin. The mission was successful. But on his return voyage Helsin was about to perish in a storm, when his guardian angel appearing promised him safety, if he would make a vow henceforth annually on the 8th of December to commemorate the holy conception of the Virgin. This Helsin promised to do, and the storm fell. The angel then commanded Helsin to celebrate the conception of the Virgin (Dec. 8th) with the same service as was prescribed for the celebration of her nativity (Sep. 8th), substituting "conception" for "birth."

As the editors Mancel and Trébutien have noted, a com-

parison makes it evident that the Norman poet Wace, who died about 1184, used the Latin text of St. Anselm as a source for his poem entitled *L'Etablissement de la fête de la conception de Notre-Dame* (cf. pp. 6-9). The same story is told by Charles de Bourgueville in *Les recherches et antiquitéz de la duché de Normandie*, p. 26; also by Jacobus de Voragine, *Epistula de conceptione Beatae Mariae*.

The same kindly intervention of the Virgin is often alluded to in works of art and especially in miracle plays (Jannet, III, pp. 475, 426, 465, 462, 437, 432). Numerous associations were in turn established at Rouen in honor of the Virgin. The *confrérie de Notre-Dame* of the metropolitan church was especially important. Its members made vows and observed certain rules of life under the direction of one of their number chosen annually and called *maistre*. Ballin (p. 8) found the origin of the *Puy de Rouen* in this association. But Beaurepaire (pp. 31 seq.) has shown that the cathedral chapter was far too strict to lend support to a society that made unseemly noise and show in the processions on rogation days. Much less did it favor the union of tradesmen styled *Caritas Beatae Mariae de Orto*, which occupied a place in the cathedral and held contests, crowning pieces of poetry, especially ballades, for the fête in honor of the Virgin. This was a puy all but in name. On Assumption day it attracted the crowd by a representation of Mary magnificently dressed in the midst of a beautiful flower garden. Hence the name. This guild appears in the chapter records of 1484. It was finally expelled from the church in 1526 on account of the disturbance it occasioned. January 20th, 1519, the canons decided to suppress in the procession of the Epiphany the representation of the three kings (magi), because the crowd ridiculed the ecclesi-

astics, who with crown and scepter represented the sacred personages. Such strict guardians would surely not have approved of the establishment of a *puys de palinods*.²

There was another brotherhood at Rouen quite distinct from those of the cathedral and beyond the zealous surveillance of the canons, that is the brotherhood of the immaculate conception in the parish church *Saint-Jean-des-Prés*, called also *Saint-Jean-sur-Renelle*. It was founded, says

² *Palinod(e)* is a term of obscure origin applied both to the puy and to a form of composition in which certain verses were repeated. The palinodial verse of the chant royal is the refrain line closing each of its five stanzas. Of the early French writers on the art of poetry, who were inspired largely by the requirements of the puy, Jean Molinet (1493) gives *taille palernoise* in MS. A with the variants *paleourde* in B and *palernode* in the Vérard text. The fact that the Anonymous (1524), who follows Molinet slavishly, omits only two paragraphs, those on the *taille palernoise* and the *rime leonine*, is evidence that he could not vouch for the term. L'Infortuné in his *Instructif* (1500) has *palmode* in a verse lacking one syllable, but *psalmodie* in the Latin title referring to the same poem. This suggests *psalmodie* for the halting verse. Still Fabri (1521) writes *pallinode*. Molinet's statement that the *taille palernoise est une espece de rethorique a maniere de chant ecclesiastique* throws no light on the derivation of the word, though *chant ecclesiastique* might suggest *psalmodia*. This leaves *palernoise* unexplained. De Bourgueville, in his *Antiquités de Caen*, derives *palinot* from *palinodie*, Gk. *παλινωδία*, "recantation," as applied to Stesichorus' praise of Helen, which retracted his published curse. Hence *chanter la palinodie* means to retract what one has said. Heretics and protestants, says de Bourgueville, have written and sung that the Virgin was stained by original sin. Contrary songs have been composed in her praise, maintaining that in her conception she was free from all sin. The weakness of this argument is its lack of application to the case. Retractions and recantations are made by those who first make assertions. Catholics cannot recant what heretics have said. In late Greek, however, *παλινωδία* could mean also *repetition*, so that the term might be applied to a refrain or to a form of poem with certain repeated verses. But the form *palinode* from *palinodia* can be neither popular, in which case the *d* would drop (cf. *podium*, *pui*), nor learned, in which event we should have *palinodie* (cf. *psalmodie*, *mélodie*).

Farin (III, p. 168), in the year 1072 "by the most notable inhabitants of the city, who obligated themselves as long as they lived to venerate in a special manner the holy Virgin, drawing up statutes for that purpose." The direction of the society was committed to one of the members, whom they elected annually to preside over their meetings and whom they called prince. This association was authorized and confirmed by Jean de Bayeux, the archbishop of Rouen, under the pontificate of Alexander II. (1072). It existed in this condition for four hundred years, doing works of piety, like similar societies in other churches of that time (Beaurepaire, pp. 42 seq.; Guiot, I, p. 40). In the year 1486 Messire Pierre Daré, sieur de Chateauroux, having been elected prince, determined to give the society a new lustre and to make of it an *académie*. Owing to the accidents of time and wars, all records of the society up to this time have been lost. From the transformation of 1486 begins its importance both literary and religious in the eyes of all local writers. Daré was a man of note and influence, being lieutenant-general in the bailiwick of Rouen. As prince of the brotherhood for 1486 he planned to inaugurate a poetic contest in the celebration of the festival on the 8th of December. He was warmly supported by Aymery Rousselin, the parish curate, who consented to be one of the first judges. Other churchmen followed Rousselin's example, notably the prior of Saint-Lô. The session of December 8th, 1486 was a great success and found many echoes in subsequent speakers and writers. Only one prize was given; Louis Chapperon was crowned for a chant royal. Farin gives in his history (III, pp. 164 seq.) the five strophes and the envoy of this poem. It contains nothing remarkable, but is characteristic of the age, the palinodial line being:

Vierge et mere pour titre singulier.

The second *prince du palinod* was Pierre Fabri in 1487. He crowned a single poet, the same Chapperon, for another chant royal with this refrain referring to the Virgin:

Royne des cieulx, sans tache et toute belle.

Fabri, a native of Rouen, must have been of great assistance in founding the *puy*. He was curate of Mercy in 1514, when he published his *Dialogue nommé le défenseur de la conception*. His most important work is *The great and true Art of complete Rhetoric*, published after his death at Paris, 1521. It has been reprinted for the Norman bibliophiles with an introduction and notes by Héron. By prescribing minute rules for the composition of chants royaux, ballades, rondeaux, virelays, and chansons, forms of poetry admitted at the puy, Fabri became its lawgiver. In the preface of the second part he says that he composed the work "à celle fin que les devotz facteurs du champ royal du Puy de l'Immaculée Conception de la Vierge ayent plus ardent desir de composer."

Names recorded in connection with the founding of the puy at Rouen indicate that the protectors of the association were recruited from the clergy, the magistracy, the nobility, and the merchant class. The priors of Saint-Lô continued to assist. The aid of the Carmelites was sought in 1515. In that year at a meeting of the princes it was recognized that their quarters in the church of Saint Jean were wholly inadequate and they decided to move. They chose the monastery of the Carmelites both on account of its favorable situation and especially because the monks of that order had shown themselves most fervent of all in accepting belief in the immaculate conception. At first the solemnities connected with the puy were held in the cloister, a beautiful large room, where several guilds held their sessions. It was called the cloister of the palinod or

simply the palinod. Later the sessions were held in the refectory. The religious ceremonies of the brotherhood were held in the chapel of the Carmelites and the puy had so taken possession of it as to adorn the walls with arms of the princes. A magnificent band of these encircled the choir. The arms of the prince in charge always remained near the door of the choir under a bell-glass till they were replaced by those of his successor.

The prosperity of the puy was greatly increased in 1520 by the obtaining of a papal bull from Leo X. This bull consecrated in a definite manner the puy itself and granted numerous privileges and indulgences to the members. This fact made the puy henceforth secure from hindrances on the part of opposing clergy. Being authorized by the sovereign pontiff, it had an assured refuge with the Carmelites and thus escaped to some extent the surveillance and possible censure of the ordinary church authority. This papal bull, which cost 142 livres tournois, approved the statutes passed in 1515, when the society was transferred to the monastery of the Carmelites, and accorded the puy numerous advantages over all other brotherhoods. It was proclaimed March 10, 1521, by Antoine de la Barre, abbé of Sainte-Catherine, Nicolas Ler, the prior of Saint-Lô, and Jean Letourneur, grand cantor of the cathedral, to whom it had been addressed. The princes and the members assembled and in thanksgiving had a solemn mass celebrated. All promised to conform rigorously to the statutes confirmed. The pope says in the bull "qu'il veult, entend et ordonne icelle confraternité, comme la plus noble, estre avancée, exaltée, et préférée à toute les autres confraternitez de lad. ville de Rouen et mesmes de toute la province de Normandie." He grants further to the princes, to the confrères and to their wives the permission to choose a confessor to absolve them from *cas*

réservés, to change their vows, and to have an altar in their homes, where they might have mass celebrated and receive the communion. He also grants them indulgences otherwise obtainable only at Rome, merely for visiting certain churches at Rouen. Lastly the association was given the right to revise its statutes without need of new approval. The statutes were drawn up with peculiar care. But unfortunately all the early records of the society as well as the original document of the papal bull have perished, especially in the religious wars. They have been preserved however in a little book by an unknown author, printed in Gothic type of the sixteenth century, entitled *Approbation et confirmation par le pape Léon X des statuts et privilèges de la confrérie de l'Immaculée Conception dite Académie des Palinods, instituée à Rouen* (re-published by Frère). It was reëdited and extended by Alphonse de Bretteville and published in 1615 with the title, *Le Puy de la conception de Notre Dame*. It is from Beaurepaire's summary of this work (pp. 65 seq.) that the following résumé is made. The anonymous author first gives a brief history of the association, not omitting its rehabilitation by Daré in 1486. There are fifty-four articles of regulation, which may be arranged under two headings. The first six and the last three govern the religious brotherhood; the others prescribe the activities of the literary academy. The respective duties of the princes and the Carmelites are minutely prescribed. On the 7th and 8th of December and the following Sunday the monks must have the main altar adorned. Upon it must be, besides the chandelier in front, four candles of white wax. Above each stall of the choir a half-pound candle. In addition, the choir and the pulpit are to be decked with tapestry. On the 7th and 8th of December the confrères are to accompany the prince to hear the complin chanted

by the monks. To this end he shall give a pound candle of yellow wax to the chief musician. The service shall close with the *salve regina* or a similar chant. Each confrère is to carry a two-ounce candle of white wax. On Sunday, Dec. 14th, at 9 a. m., mass of the conception. Expenses: 18 livres for the monks besides the 18 livres they receive from the funds of the brotherhood; 18 livres for the musicians; 6 for the organist. After mass the members retire to the chapel Notre Dame de la Recouvrance and name the prince, who is to be conducted to the altar to render thanks to God upon his knees. On the days of the nativity, purification, annunciation, and assumption, masses at the expense of the confrères, who must assist or pay a fine of 5 sols; next, deliberation in the chapel of Recouvrance. The chaplain must assist at all these masses, wearing the surplice. His pay is fixed at 15 livres from the puy and 10 to be paid by the prince in charge. All must attend a member's funeral. Four priests in white surplices must attend, each with a four-pound candle bearing the escutcheon of the brotherhood. The funeral ceremony for a deceased prince is given in still greater detail. His coat of arms is to be painted on the wall of the church and an epitaph in French and in Latin, composed by the poets crowned by him, shall be put over his sepulchre.

The rules for the government of the literary activities of the puy are of greater interest to us. On the 14th of September the ceremony of the mass recalled the palinodic pomp. All members had to attend, as well as the laureates of the previous year with their emblems. Upon the decorated altar there had been placed before the mass "une palme, deux bouquets de cire attachés sur deux vases, l'ung représentant un lys, et l'autre ung rosier, un miroir, une tour, un soleil, un chapeau de laurier, une étoile et un

anneau." These objects were afterwards taken to the puy. The prince kept the wax bouquets. On December 17th a meeting was held at the home of the prince to discuss affairs of the brotherhood, after which the puy was opened in the cloister on a high stage reared by the prince's orders, decked with tapestries and surmounted by a dais. The emblems of the prizes were placed on a large table, at which sat the princes with the members on the right and on the left. The reader, who was paid six pounds of yellow wax candles, sat on one side at a small table assisted by several experts. At another on the other side sat the poets and the beaux esprits of former years. First came a fifteen-minute sermon, "*brève collacion faite par vénérable docteur.*" Then in a loud voice accompanied by the sound of trumpets the laureates of the previous year were called upon. They read aloud their prize poems and thanked the former prince, if present, if not, the one in charge.

At this time prizes were offered for four different kinds of poems, the chant royal, the Latin epigram, the French ballade, and the rondeau, all old and hackneyed types of medieval literature. Second prizes were offered for the chant royal and the Latin epigram, making six in all. They were represented by emblems, all redeemable at prices fixed by the statutes. For the chant royal, first prize was a palm worth 100 sols tournois, second prize was a lily worth 60 sols tournois; for the Latin epigram, first prize was a laurel wreath worth 4 livres tournois, second prize was a gold star worth 40 sols tournois; for the French ballade, first prize was a rose worth 35 sols tournois, no second offered; for the rondeau, first prize was a gold ring worth 25 sols tournois, no second offered. The article describing these prizes explains also their symbolic meaning (Beaurepaire, pp. 74 seq.):

“Que celui qui aura faict le meilleur champ royal, en signe de victoire par lui obtenue et aussi que la glorieuse Vierge Marie a obtenu la palme de victoire sur tous pechez tant originel que aultres sera premié de la palme, qui lui sera délivrée, redimable toutesfoys en lui payant cent solz tournois; et à celui facteur qui par aprez aura faict le meilleur champ royal que l'on appelle le *débattu* en signe que vaillamment et vertueusement il a bataillé pour la belle dame comparée au lys blanc de pureté et que, ainsi que le lys croit et flourist entre les espines sans aucunement sentir leur asperité, aussi la dicté Vierge a esté conceue et procrée par generacion humaine comme les aultres femmes sans toutesfoys avoir esté maculée ni touchée de péché originel, sera donné et délivré une fleur de lis, rédimable par la somme de soixante solz tournois. A iceluy qui aura faict le meilleur epygramme en latin, en signe de triumphe et que aussi que les impérateurs et aultres Princes rommains aprez victoire obtenue sur leurs ennemis en triumpfant portoient sur leur tête le chapeau de laurier, aussi la Vierge et Mère de Dieu a triumpué par excellente victoire sur tous pechez et vices sans aucune exception, sera donné et delivré un chapeau de laurier rédimable par la somme de quatre livres tournois; et à celui qui aura faict l'epigramme *débattu*,³ en contemplation de ce que la Vierge est comparée à l'Estoille matutinalle et aussi que par icelle estoile sont chassez les tenebres de la confusion et nous est annoncé la lumiere de grace estre prochaine et par ce moyen parvenir à la grande et joyeuse lumiere du soleil de justice, sera donné et delivré une estoile d'or,

* *Débattu*, *beaten*, *vanquished*; hence, receiving 2d prize. Cf. the *chant royal* supra, which takes 2d place. Strangely enough Guiffrey (*Vie de Marot*, I, p. 65) takes this for a literary genre, calling it *une espèce de dialogue qu'on appelait le "débattu."* V. La Curne, *Dict. hist. de l'Anc. Franç.*, s. v.

redimable par la somme de quarante solz tournois. Et à celuy qui aura faict la meilleure ballade en francoys, en contemplacion de ce que la Vierge immaculée est comparée à la roze et que la roze est preferée à toutes les aultres fleurs en oulder et suavité, aussi ladite Vierge par la grande oulder et exemple de ses virtus console les sens et esperitz vitaulx de nostre ame et entendement, les remplissant de toutes suavitez spirituelles, sera donné et delivré une roze, redimable par la somme de trente cinq solz. Et à celuy facteur qui aura faict le meilleur rondeau en signe de perfection, et que ainssi que selon l'opinion des philozophes et géometriens la figure ronde et spherique est la plus parfaite des aultres, aussy en la Vierge et Mère abonde par grace divine plenitude et perfection de vertus, sera donné et delivré un signet d'or, redimable par la somme de vingt cinq solz tournois."

The French compositions were judged and the prizes awarded immediately. The reader would read, for example, three chants royaux. The poorest was rejected. Another was read and the worst of the three in each case rejected. The better of the last two received the first prize. The other was called *débatu*, having second place. It is not wholly evident who constituted the judges. It seems likely that the prince in charge appointed competent persons to assist the members and to lend prominence to the occasion. The old rule said: "Le Prince adjudgera les prix par l'avis desdits théologiens, poètes, princes et confrères sans faire faveur." When the prizes were given, each laureate read his piece. The emblem of the prize was brought accompanied by a blare of trumpets. The prince had to pay the trumpeters 7 livres 10 sols. The Latin poems were neither read nor crowned in public. The prince called a meeting of the authors and judges at his home on the following day (Thursday) at 2 p. m. The

epigrams were read by the reader and were judged by the theologians and jurors. The prince had many obligations.

“Le Prince après son eslection était tenu de faire faire un tableau représentant, d’un côté, la figure d’un des mystères de la Conception et, de l’autre, les armes de sa famille. Cette pancarte, pendue sous le grand chandelier devant l’autel principal, y restait depuis le mois de janvier jusqu’à la fin de la principauté. Il devait, en outre, faire les frais de l’affiche palinodique dans laquelle se trouvaient des compositions faites suivant les règles usitées au Puy et de manière à servir de modèle aux concurrents. La façon des deux colonnes qui s’y trouvaient, renfermant chacune 60 vers, lui coûtait 4 livres de cire jaune.” Some of the members found the duties of prince very burdensome. Provision was made that the heirs of a prince-elect who died before the opening of the puy might be exonerated by paying 300 livres. Any member might be free from obligation, if he would pay the chaplain 400 francs three years before his turn to become prince.

Not long after the proclamation of the papal bull, on account of the troublesome times and the fear of burdensome expense, the zeal of the membership waned. The register shows a spasmodic increase of members in 1548. But the effort was in vain. On December 14th, 1578, the princes discussed means of assuring the prosperity of the puy. The religious troubles agitated the province. Rouen had to undergo disastrous sieges and had to suffer the successive entrance of the Calvinists, of the troops of Charles IX. in 1591, and of those of Henry IV. in 1593. People’s attention was not to be held by a literary academy. In spite of this, strenuous efforts were to be made to transform and reestablish the institution.

A partial restoration of the puy took place in 1595 through the efforts and influence of M. Claude Groulart,

a canon of Rouen and the first president of the parliament of Normandy, who was chosen prince for the year 1596. Groulart had the rules revised and founded two new prizes. De Bretteville (p. 26) says that Groulart "volontairement se rangea sous la protection de la Vierge, releva ledict Puy abattu, en rendit le théâtre plus magnifique, régla la dépense qui s'y faisoit et augmenta le nombre des compositions de deux stances en honneur de la Vierge, duquel il fonda les prix a perpétuité, donnant une tour pour la plus parfaite stance et un Soleil pour la meilleure d'après, qu'il désira pouvoir estre rachatées par le prix de six livres, la première et la deuxième par soixante sols. Ledict seigneur présida lui-meme au jugement des compositions sur ledict Puy en l'année 1596."

All official records of the society were lost in the religious wars. The original Latin bull as well as its proclamation had disappeared. In the library left by Pierre de Monfault, who had been a prince of the puy and was president of the parliament in 1527, they found a single copy of a little book containing these documents (Guyot, II, p. 122; Beaurepaire, p. 83). With the support of the archbishop the society requested of the parliament permission to reprint this book, which should have the authority of originals. A decree was passed January 18th, 1597, granting this request (Guyot, I, p. 138; Beaurepaire, p. 83). The society seems not soon to have profited by this permission. The old rules, no longer fitting the needs of the day, were revised in 1614, and after approval by the archbishop and a permis of the parliament dated March 11, 1615, they were edited by de Bretteville, prince in 1614, who founded an increase in the prizes for the Latin epigram. The changes and additions in this publication mark a stage in the development of the institution. Hitherto symbolic ideas dominated. The puy was for the most part a reli-

gious brotherhood. Now the symbolic ideas are largely wanting. The puy is becoming a literary academy. The religious ceremonies prescribed are almost the same. Five kinds of composition are to receive prizes. These are the chant royal, the ballade, the stance, the ode, and the sonnet. They are all described at length with examples given. In 1732 another revision of the statutes was made. The chant royal and the ballade were rejected. A still more complete revision was made in 1769, making of the puy a modern academy, which lasted till the revolution of 1789.

It is convenient here to give a brief account of the prizes offered by the puy at Rouen. At first only two were offered, first and second for the chant royal, the palm and the lily. In 1510 Jehan Le Lieur founded the gold signet ring as prize for the rondeau. In 1514 Jacques Deshomets established the rose as prize for the ballade. The laureates received only a sum of money represented by the emblems of the prizes given to them in the ceremony. The statutes of 1515 provided two prizes for the Latin epigram. In general the prizes were assured by no permanent foundation. In 1520 an ex-prince, Guillaume Le Roux, established an income of 25 livres to aid in recompensing the poets crowned and in defraying the expenses of the divine service. Other donations soon assured the distribution of the prizes and permitted changes in their emblems. The latter, being used only during the ceremony, thus served indefinitely. The donors set a fixed monetary value for each, which was sometimes increased by subsequent gifts. In 1613 Charles de la Rocque made a foundation by which the values of the prizes for the chant royal were raised to 12 and 8 livres. The palm and the lily were changed to two silver shields bearing in relief the arms of the founder together with a palm and a lily stem. In 1614

de Bretteville increased the prizes for the epigram. The laurel wreath was changed to two silver laurel branches with his arms (9 livres), and the golden star to a gold seal ring (2 livres). The prize for the ballade remained of the same value (2 livres), but the rose was changed for a signet ring with the imprint of a rose. The value of the ring given for the rondeau was raised from 25 sous to 2 livres by the generosity of Marin Le Pigny (1612). Later the idylle replaced the ballade, and the sonnet, the rondeau. The stance, the Latin and the French ode, the hymn, and the oration were all in succession admitted to the contests in the puy. A tower (6 livres) and a sun (3 livres) were given for the best two stances; later, rings with the impression of a tower and of a sun. For the Latin Pindaric ode François de Harlay, archbishop of Rouen, offered a silver bee-hive (1624). The prizes for the French ode were represented by two silver mirrors. M. de l'Ouraille, prince in 1731, established as prize for the hymn, a silver oval representing in relief the Virgin, one of whose mysteries was to be the subject of the composition each year. The cycle embraced the conception, the nativity, the presentation, the annunciation, the visitation, the purification, and the assumption. In 1699 M. de Bonnetot founded the prize for oratory. At first the discourses dealt only with the cult of the Virgin. Later moral and historical subjects were allowed. The abbé Cotton des Houssayes, secretary to the puy, in his opening address, December 19, 1771, announced a reduction of the prizes to four: "ce seront dorénavant des médailles d'argent, chacune de trois pouces de diamètre environ et d'une épaisseur convenable: d'un côté, est l'image de la Sainte Vierge, avec cette légende *Immacul. Concep. B. V. Acad. Roth.* Sur le bord du revers, on voit la représentation des anciens prix, tels

que la Croix, l'Anneau, le Miroir, la Ruche, la Tour, le Lys, la Palme, la Rose, le Soleil, le Laurier, l'Etoile: le milieu du revers est uni pour qu'on puisse y graver le genre du prix, l'année où il aura été remporté, les noms des fondateurs. Ces quatre prix seront donnés, l'un au meilleur discours français sur un sujet de religion proposé chaque année, deux autres à deux pièces de poésie française alternativement entre l'ode et l'idylle, les stances et le poème héroïque; un quatrième à une pièce de poésie latine alternativement entre l'ode et l'allégorie, anciennement appelée épigramme."

Besides the regular prizes mention is made in the early and in the late history of the society of extraordinary prizes called *prix des princes*. These were of considerable importance. Sometimes the academy gave prizes from its own funds.

The puy at Caen (1527-1792) was a simple annex of the university, modeled after that at Rouen. Guiot gives many samples of poetry crowned in the early period. The earliest printed collection dates from 1666, there being about eighty such pamphlets preserved at Caen.

Besides those at Rouen and Caen, there were puyes in Abbeville, Amiens, Arras, Beauvais, Béthune, Cambrai, Dieppe, Douai, Evreux, Lille, Tournai, Valenciennes. Many isolated facts are known in regard to a number of these. The one at Amiens was especially important. Cf. Gröber, *Gr.* II, ind. s. v. *puy*. The *Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* has recently (1912) published a magnificent album giving reproductions of the very curious pictures painted for this puy and now preserved at Amiens.⁴

⁴I am indebted for this statement to M. Abel Lefranc, recently exchange professor at the University of Chicago, and to M. Emile Picot, who, in a private letter, gives me also many other important citations concerning the puyes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. G. Ballin, *Notice historique sur l'Académie des Palinods*, 1834-1844.

Eugène de Robillard de Beaurepaire, *Les Puys de Palinod de Rouen et de Caen*, ouvrage posthume publié par Charles de Robillard de Beaurepaire, Caen, 1907.

Adrian Bocage, *Œuvres poétiques sur le sujet de la Conception de la très Sainte Vierge Marie mère de Dieu composées par divers auteurs recueillies par Adrian Bocage prestre*, 1615.

Charles de Bourgueville, *Recherches et Antiquitez de la province de Neustrie . . . de la ville et Vniversité de Caen*, réimprimées, 1833.

Charles de Bourgueville, *Les recherches et antiquitez de la duché de Normandie*.

Alphonse de Bretteville, *Le Puy de la Conception de Nostre Dame*, 1615.

A. Breuil, *La confrérie de Notre-Dame du Puy d'Amiens*, in *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Picardie*, II^e série, t. III (1854), pp. 485, 508, 533, 609, 663.

Antoine Charma, *Documents inédits sur les Palinods*, in *Rev. de Rouen*, 1852, pp. 413-421.

Helen Louise Cohen, Ph. D., *The Ballade*, Columbia University Press, 1915.

Antoine Corneille, *Poésies chrestiennes*, Rouen, 1647. Contains 25 pieces. Reprinted for the Bibliophiles of Rouen by Blanchemain, 1877.

Pierre Fabri, *Le grand et vrai Art de pleine rhétorique*, published for the Société des Bibliophiles Normands by A. Héron, Rouen, 1889-1890, 3 vol. petit in-4°.

Fr. Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen*, Rouen, 1659.

David Ferrand, *La Muse Normande . . . Rouen chez*

l'auteur, 1655. Republished for the Bibliophiles of Rouen with introduction and notes by M. A. Héron, 1891-1895.

Édouard Frère, *Approbation et confirmation par le pape Léon X des statuts et privilèges de la confrérie de l'Immaculée Conception dite Académie des Palinods instituée à Rouen*, Rouen, Henry Boissel, 1864.

Gustav Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, II, Strassburg, 1902.

A. Guesnin, *La satire littéraire à Arras au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1900.

Georges Guiffrey, *Les œuvres de Clément Marot*, vols. II and III, Paris, 1881; vol. I, *La Vie de Marot*, 1911.

Jos. André Guiot, *Les trois Siècles Palinodiques ou Histoire Générale des Palinods de Rouen, Dieppe, etc.*, publiés par l'Abbé A. Tougard, Rouen et Paris, 1898, 2 vols.

Henry Guy, *L'École des Rhétoriciens*, Paris, 1910, sec. 82-87.

S. Hécart, *Serventois et sotties chansons*, 1834.

A. Hurel, *La Vierge et les Palinods du moyen-âge*, in *Ann. archéolog.* (1861-2), XXI, pp. 345-357; XXII, pp. 27-38, 97-111, 332-345.

Jaernstroem, *Recueil de Chansons pieuses*, Helsingfors, 1910.

Jannet, *Ancien theatre français*, III.

W. A. R. Kerr, *Le Cercle d'Amour*, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XII (1904), pp. 33-64.

E. Langlois, *Recueil d'Arts de seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902.

Magnin, *Journal des Savants*, 1846-47, pp. 546 seq.

Ortigue, *Dict. plain-chant*, 1860, pp. 1287-96.

G. Paris et U. Robert, *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame*, Paris, 1876-1883, 7 vols.

Passy, *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, 1867, vol. 20, p. 491.

Emile Picot, *Théâtre Mystique de Pierre Duval*, Paris, 1882.

Dom Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église cathédrale de Rouen*, Rouen, 1686.

G. Raynaud, *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, vol. 41, p. 201.

De la Rue, *Mémoire historique sur le Palinod de Caen*, Caen, 1841, 8°, 20 p.

M. Sepet, *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, 1867.

Pierre Le Verdier, *Le Triomphe des Normands par Guillaume Tasserie*, recently published with introduction for the Bibliophiles Normands.

Pierre Vidoué, *Palinodz, Chantz royaux, || Ballades, Rondeaulx et Epigrammes, || a l'honneur de l'immaculee conception de || la toute belle mere de dieu Marie (Patron || ne des Normans) presentez au Puy a Rouen || Composez par scientifiques personnages desclairez par la table cy dedans contenue, . . . Paris [ca. 1525].* Imprimebat Petrus Vidoueus. S. d. Reproduced for the Bibliophiles Normands, 1896.

Edward Montier, *Le Puy de Palinod à Rouen*, *Revue de la Renaissance*, xi, (1910), pp. 125-134.

Herman Suchier and Adolph Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, 2 vol., 2d ed., Leipzig and Vienna, 1913.

Wace, *L'Etablissement de la fête de la Conception Notre-Dame*, ed. Mancel et Trébutien, Caen, 1842.

CHAS. B. NEWCOMER.